HIS MAIESTIES SPEECH TO BOTH the Houſes of Parliament, in *his Highneſſe great Cham-* ber at *Whitehall*, the day of the Adiournement of the laſt Seſſion,

Which was the laſt day of March 1607.

¶IMPRINTED AT London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

¶ To the Reader.

HAuing receiued (gentle Reader) diuers and different Copies of his Maiesties Speech to this last Session of Parliament in Whitehall, at their recession in the Passion weeke; my labour hath bene to conferre all these copies together, and with the helpe of some gentlemen that were auditors thereof, to make such an extraction as I here present vnto thee. Which though I dare not maintaine to bee a true and full relation of all his Maiestie spake, as beeing farre

ſhort both of the life of his Maieſties eloquent phraſes, and fulneſſe of the matter: yet ſeeing (as I hope) it conteines moſt of the ſubſtantiall reaſons and Arguments that therein were vttered, and that it is a thing deſired by ſo many, though not rightly related by any, I haue taken the boldneſſe to preſent it vnto thee, ſuch as it is, being the rather at mine owne ſuite permitted to Print it, for eſchewing the wrong that might be done vnto thee, by the publiſhing of ſo many falſe copies that begin already to be ſpread thereof. And thus hoping of thy kinde acceptance of this my well meant labour, I bid thee farewell.

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HIS MAIESTIES SPEECH TO BOTH the Houſes of Parliament, in *his Highneſſe great Chamber* at *Whitehall*, the day of the adiournement of the laſt Seſſion, which was the laſt day of March 1607.

MY Lords of the higher Houſe, and you Knights & Burgeſſes of the Lower houſe, All men at the beginning of a Feaſt bring foorth good wine firſt, and after, worſe. This was the ſaying of the Gouernour of the Feaſt at *Cana* in *Galile*, where

CHRIST

CHRIST wrought his first miracle by changing water into wine. But in this case now whereof I am to speake vnto you, I must follow that Gouernours rule, and not CHRISTS example, in giuing you the worst and sowrest wine last. For all the time of this long Session of the Parliament you haue bin so fed and cloy'd, (specially you of the Lower house) with such banquets, and choise of delicate speeches, and your eares so seasoned with the sweetnesse of long precogitate Orations; as this my Speech now in the breaking vp of this Assembly, cannot but appeare vnto your taste as the worst wine proposed in the end of the Banquet, since I am onely to deliuer nowe vnto you matter without curious forme, substance without ceremonie, trueth in all sincerite. Yet considering the Person that speaketh, the parties to whom I speake, the matter whereof I meane to speake; it fits better to vtter matter, rather then words, in regard of the greatnesse of my place who am to speake to you, the

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grauitie of you the Auditorie, which is the high Court of Parliament; the weight of the matter, which concernes the ſecuritie and eſtabliſhment of this whole Empire, and little world. Studied Orations and much eloquence vpon little matter is fit for the Vniuerſities, where not the ſubiect which is ſpoken of, but the triall of his wit that ſpeaketh, is moſt commendable: but on the contrary, in all great Councels of Parliaments feweſt words with moſt matter doeth become beſt, where the diſpatch of the great errands in hand, and not the prayſe of the perſon is moſt to be looked vnto: like the garment of a chaſte woman, who is onely ſet forth by her naturall beautie, which is properly her owne: other deckings are but enſignes of an harlot that flyes with borrowed feathers. And beſides the conueniencie, I am forced hereunto by neceſsitie, my place calling me to action, and not leauing mee to the libertie of contemplation, hauing alwayes my thoughts buſied with the publique care of

you all, where euery one of you hauing but himselfe and his owne priuate to thinke of, are at more leisure to make studied speeches. And therefore the matter which I deliuer you confusedly as in a sacke, I leaue it to you when you are in your chambers, and haue better leysure then I can haue, to ranke them in order, euery one in their owne place.

Thus much by way of Preface. But I proceed to the matter. Whereof I might say with *S. Paul*, I could speake in as many tongues as you all, but I had rather speake three wordes to edification, then talke all day without vnderstanding. In vaine (sayth the *Psalmist*) doeth the builder build the house, or the watchman watch the Citie, vnlesse the Lord giue his blessing thereunto. And in the New Testament *S. Paul* saith, That he may plant, *Apollo* may water, but it is GOD onely that must giue the increase. This I speake, because of the long time which hath bene spent about the Treatie of the Vnion.

For my ſelfe, I proteſt vnto you all, When I firſt propounded the Vnion, I then thought there could haue bene no more queſtion of it, then of your declaration and acknowledgement of my Right vnto this Crowne, and that, as two Twinnes, they would haue growen vp together. The error was my miſtaking; I knew mine owne ende, but not others feares. But now finding many croſsings, long diſputations, ſtrange queſtions, and nothing done, I muſt needes thinke it proceeds either of miſtaking of the errand, or elſe from ſome iealouſie of me the Propounder, that you ſo adde delay vnto delay, ſearching out as it were the very bowels of Curioſitie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in ſome iealouſie of my intention in this matter, hauing not yet had ſo great experience of my behauiour and inclination in theſe fewe yeeres paſt, as you may peraduenture haue in a longer time hereafter, and not hauing occaſion to conſult

daily with my selfe, and heare mine owne opinion in all those particulars which are debated among you.

But here I pray you now mistake me not at the first, when as I seeme to find fault with your delayes and curiositie, as if I would haue you to resolue in an houres time, that which will take a moneths aduisement: for you all know, that *Rex est lex loquens*, and you haue oft heard me say, That the Kings will and intention being the speaking Law, ought to be *Luce clarius*: and I hope you of the Lower house haue the proofe of this my cleerenesse by a Bill sent you down from the vpper house within these fewe dayes, or rather few houres: wherein may very well appeare vnto you the care I haue to put my Subiects in a good security of their possessions for all posterities to come. And therefore that you may cleerely vnderstand my meaning in that point, I doe freely confesse, you had reason to aduise at leasure vpon so great a cause: for great matters doe euer require

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great deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum eſt diu quod ſtatuendum eſt ſemel.* Conſultations muſt proceed *lento pede*, but the execution of a ſentence vpon the reſolution would be ſpeedie. If you will goe on, it matters not though you goe with leaden feete, ſo you make ſtill ſome progreſſe, and that there be no let or needleſſe delay, and doe not *Nodum in ſcirpo quærere.* I am euer for the *Medium* in euery thing. Betweene fooliſh raſhneſſe and extreame length, there is a middle way. Search all that is reaſonable, but omit that which is idle, curious and vnneceſſarie; otherwiſe there can neuer be a reſolution or end in any good worke.

And now from the generall I will deſcend to particulars, and will onely for the eaſe of your memories diuide the matter that I am to ſpeake of, into foure heads, by opening vnto you, Firſt, what I craue: Secondly, in what manner I deſire it: Thirdly, what commodities will enſue to both the Kingdomes by it: Fourthly, what

the ſuppoſed inconueniencie may be that giues impediments thereunto.

For the firſt, what I craue, I proteſt before God who knowes my heart, and to you my People before whome it were a ſhame to lie, that I claime nothing but with acknowledgement of my Bond to you; that as yee owe to me ſubiection and obedience: So my Soueraigntie obligeth me to yeeld to you loue, gouernment, and protection: Neither did I euer wiſh any happineſſe to my ſelfe, which was not conioyned with the happineſſe of my people. I deſire a perfect Vnion of Lawes and Perſons, and ſuch a Naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdomes vnder mee your King, That I and my Poſteritie (if it ſo pleaſe God) may rule ouer you to the worlds end; Such an Vnion as was of the Scots and Pictes in Scotland, and of the Heptarchie heere in England. And for Scotland I auow ſuch an Vnion as if you had got it by Conqueſt, but ſuch a Conqueſt as may be cemented by loue, the one-

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ly ſure bond of ſubiection or friendſhip: that as there is ouer both but *vnus Rex*, ſo there may bee in both but *vnus Grex & vna Lex*: For no more poſsible is it for one King to gouerne two Countreys *Contiguous*, the one a great, the other a leſſe, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an Adamant the leſſer to the Commodities therof, then for one head to gouerne two bodies, or one man to bee husband of two wiues, whereto Chriſt himſelfe ſaid, *Ab initio non fuit ſic*.

But in the generall Vnion you muſt obſerue two things: for I will diſcouer my thoughts plainly vnto you; I ſtudy clearenes, not eloquence; And therfore with the olde Philoſophers, I would heartily wiſh my breſt were a tranſparent glaſſe for you all to ſee through, that you might looke into my heart, and then would you be ſatiſfied of my meaning. For when I ſpeake of a perfect Vnion, I meane not confuſion of all things: you muſt not take from Scotland thoſe particular Priuiledges that may ſtand

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as well with this Vnion, as in England many particular customes in particular Shires, (as the Customes of Kent, and the Royalties of the Countie Palatine of Chester) do with the Common Law of the Kingdome: for euery particular Shire almost, & much more euery Countie, haue some particular customes that are as it were naturally most fit for that people. But I meane of such a generall Vnion of Lawes as may reduce the whole Iland, that as they liue alreadie vnder one Monarch, so they may all bee gouerned by one Law. For I must needes confesse by that little experience I haue had since my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to prooue it, that the grounds of the Common Law of England, are the best of any Law in the world, either Ciuill or Municipall, and the fittest for this people. But as euery Law would be cleare and full, so the obscuritie in some points of this our written Law, and want of fulnesse in others, the variation of Cases and mens curiositie, breeding euery day new questi-

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ons, hath enforced the Iudges to iudge in many Caſes here, by Caſes and preſidents, wherein I hope Lawyers themſelues will not denie but that there muſt be a great vncertaintie, and I am ſure all the reſt of you that are Gentlemen of other profeſsions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could haue had it amended. For where there is varietie and vncertaintie, although a iuſt Iudge may doe rightly, yet an ill Iudge may take aduantage to doe wrong: and then are all honeſt men that ſucceede him, tied in a maner to his vniuſt and partiall concluſions. Wherefore, leaue not the Lawe to the pleaſure of the Iudge, but let your Lawes bee looked into: for I deſire not the aboliſhing of the Lawes, but onely the clearing & the ſweeping off the ruſt of them, and that by Parliament our Lawes might bee cleared and made knowen to all the Subiects. Yea rather it were leſſe hurt, that all the approued Caſes were ſet down and allowed by Parliament for ſtanding Lawes in all time to come. For although

ſome of them peraduenture may be vniuſt as ſet downe by corrupt Iudges; yet better it is to haue a certaine Lawe with ſome ſpots in it, nor liue vnder ſuch an vncertaine and arbitrarie Law, ſince as the prouerbe is, It is leſſe harme to ſuffer an inconuenience then a miſchiefe. And now may you haue faire occaſion of amending and poliſhing your Lawes, when Scotland is to be vnited with you vnder them: for who can blame Scotland to ſay, If you will take away our owne Lawes, I pray you giue vs a better and cleerer in place thereof.

But this is not poſsible to be done without a fit preparation. Hee that buildeth a Ship, muſt firſt prouide the timber; and as Chriſt himſelfe ſaid, No man will build an houſe, but he wil firſt prouide the materials: nor a wiſe King wil not make warre againſt another, without he firſt make prouiſion of money: and all great workes muſt haue their preparation: and that was my end in cauſing the Inſtrument of the Vnion to

be made. Vnion is a mariage: would hee not be thought absurd that for furthering of a mariage betweene two friends of his, would make his first motion to haue the two parties be laid in bedde together, and performe the other turnes of mariage? must there not precede the mutuall sight and acquaintance of the parties one with another, the conditions of the contract, and Ioincture to be talked of and agreed vpon by their friends, and such other things as in order ought to goe before the ending of such a worke? The vnion is an eternall agreement and reconciliation of many long bloody warres that haue bene betweene these two ancient Kingdomes. Is it the readiest way to agree a priuate quarell betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie vnder one roofe or rather in one bedde together, before that first, the ground of their quarell be communed vpon, their mindes mitigated, their affections prepared, and all other circumstances

firſt vſed, that ought to be vſed to proceed to ſuch a finall agreement? Euery honeſt man deſireth a perfect Vnion, but they that ſay ſo, and admit no preparation thereto, haue *mel in ore, fel in corde.* If after your ſo long talke of Vnion in all this long Seſsion of Parliament, yee riſe without agreeing vpon any particular; what will the neighbour Princes iudge, whoſe eyes are all fixed vpon the concluſion of this Action, but that the King is refuſed in his deſire, whereby the Nation ſhould be taxed, and the King diſgraced? And what an ill preparation is it for the mindes of Scotland toward the Vnion, when they ſhall heare that ill is ſpoken of their whole Nation, but nothing is done nor aduanced in the matter of the Vnion it ſelfe? But this I am glad was but the fault of one, and one is no number: yet haue your neighbours of Scotland this aduantage of you, that none of them hath ſpoken ill of you (nor ſhall as long as I am King) in Parliament, or any ſuch publique place of Iudicature.

cature. Consider therefore well, if the mindes of Scotland had not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall consent, seeing you here haue all the great aduantage by the Vnion. Is not here the personall residence of the King, his whole Court and family? Is not here the seate of Iustice, and the fountaine of Gouernment? must they not be subiected to the Lawes of England, and so with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland, and those other remote and Northerne Shires? you are to be the husband, they the wife: you conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond of loue. Besides that, they as other Northerne Countreys will be seldome seene and saluted by their King, and that as it were but in a posting or hunting iourney.

How little cause then they may haue of such a change of so ancient a Monarchie into the case of priuate Shires, iudge rightly herein. And that you may bee the

more vpright Iudges, ſuppoſe your ſelues the Patients of whom ſuch ſentence ſhould bee giuen. But what preparation is it which I craue? onely ſuch as by the entrance may ſhew ſomething is done, yet more is intended. There is a conceipt intertained, and a double iealouſie poſſeſſeth many, wherein I am miſiudged.

Firſt, that this Vnion wil be the *Criſis* to the ouerthrow of England, and ſetting vp of Scotland: England will then bee ouerwhelmed by the ſwarming of the Scots, who if the Vnion were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The ſecond is, my profuſe liberalitie to the Scottiſh men more then the Engliſh, and that with this Vnion all things ſhalbe giuen to them, and you turned out of all: To you ſhall be left the ſweat and labour, to them ſhall bee giuen the fruite and ſweet; and that my forbearance is but till this Vnion may bee gained. How agreeable this is to the trueth, Iudge you; And that not by my wordes, but by my Acti-

ons. Doe I craue the Vnion without exceptions? doe I not offer to binde my ſelfe and to reſerue to you, as in the Inſtrument, all places of Iudicature? doe I intend any thing which ſtandeth not with the equall good of both Nations? I could then haue done it, and not ſpoken of it: For all men of vnderſtanding muſt agree, that I might diſpoſe without aſſent of Parliament, Offices of Iudicature, and others, both Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall. But herein I did voluntarily offer by my Letters from Royſton to the Commiſsioners, to binde my Prerogatiue.

Some thinke that I will draw the Scottiſh Nation hither, talking idlely of tranſporting of Trees out of a barren ground into a better, and of leane cattell out of bad paſture into a more fertile ſoile. Can any man diſplant you, vnleſſe you will? or can any man thinke that Scotland is ſo ſtrong to pull you out of your houſes? or doe you not thinke I know England hath more people, Scotland more waſt

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ground? So that there is roumth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that ſwarme in London ſtreets, and other Townes, and disburthen you of them, then to bring more vnto you; And in caſes of Iuſtice, if I be partiall to either ſide, let my owne mouth condemne me, as vnworthy to be your King.

I appeale to your ſelues, if in fauour or Iuſtice I haue bene partiall. Nay, my intention was euer, you ſhould then haue moſt cauſe to praiſe my diſcretion, when you ſaw I had moſt power. If hitherto I haue done nothing to your preiudice, much leſſe meane I hereafter. If when I might haue done it without any breach of promiſe; Thinke ſo of me, that much leſſe I will doe it, when a Law is to reſtraine me. I owe no more to the Scottiſh men then to the Engliſh. I was borne there, and ſworne here, and now raigne ouer both. Such particular perſons of the Scottiſh Nation, as might claime any extraordinary merit at my handes, I haue already reaſonably

ſonably rewarded, and I can aſſure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to ſtraine my ſelfe further, then in ſuch ordinary benefit as I may equally beſtow without mine owne great hurt, vpon any Subiect of either Nation; In which caſe no Kings handes can euer be fully cloſed. To both I owe Iuſtice and protection, which with Gods grace I ſhall euer equally ballance.

For my Liberalitie, I haue told you of it heretofore: my three firſt yeeres were to me as a Chriſtmas, I could not then bee miſerable: ſhould I haue bene ouerſparing to them? they might haue thought *Ioſeph* had forgotten his brethren, or that the King had bene drunke with his new Kingdome. But Suites goe not now ſo cheape as they were wont, neither are there ſo many fees taken in the Hamper & Pettibagge for the great Seale as hath bene. And if I did reſpect the Engliſh when I came firſt, of whom I was receiued with ioy, and came as in a hunting iourney, what might the

Scottish haue iustly said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully with them that so long had serued me, so farre aduentured themselues with me, and beene so faithfull to mee. I haue giuen you now foure yeeres proofe since my comming, and what I might haue done more to haue raised the Scottish nation you all know, and the longer I liue, the lesse cause haue I to be acquainted with them, and so the lesse hope of extraordinary fauour towards them: For since my comming from them I doe not alreadie know the one halfe of them by face, most of the youth being now risen vp to be men, who were but children when I was there, and more are borne since my comming thence.

Now for my lands and reuenues of my Crowne which you may thinke I haue diminished, They are not yet so farre diminished, but that I thinke no prince of Christendome hath fairer possessions to his Crowne then yet I haue, and in token of my care to preserue the same to my posteri-

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tie for euer, the intaile of my lands to the Crowne hath bene long agoe offered vnto you: and that it is not yet done, is not my fault as you know. My Treasurer here knoweth my care, and hath already in part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my Reuenue more then I haue empaired it, I should neuer rest quietly in my bed. But notwithstanding my comming to the Crowne, with that extraordinarie applause which you all know, and that I had two Nations to be the obiects of my liberalitie, which neuer any Prince had here before; will you compare my gifts out of mine inheritance with some Princes here that had onely this Nation to respect, and whose whole time of reigne was litle longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their gifts haue farre surpassed mine, albeit as I haue already said, they had nothing so great cause of vsing their liberalitie.

For the maner of the Vnion presently desired, It standeth in 3. parts: The first, Secondly

taking away of hoſtile Lawes: for ſince there can be now no Warres betwixt you, is it not reaſon hoſtile Lawes ſhould ceaſe? For, *deficiente cauſa deficit effectus.* The King of England now cannot haue warres with the King of Scotland, therefore this failes of it ſelfe. The ſecond is communitie of Commerce. I am no ſtranger vnto you: for you all knowe I came from the loines of your ancient Kings. They of Scotland be my Subiects as you are. But how can I bee naturall Liege Lord to you both, and you ſtrangers one to the other? Shall they which be of one alleagance with you, be no better reſpected of you, nor freer amongſt you, then Frenchmen and Spaniards? Since I am Soueraigne ouer both, you as Subiects to one King, it muſt needs follow that you conuerſe and haue Commerce together. There is a rumour of ſome ill dealings that ſhould bee vſed by the Commiſsioners, Merchants of Scotland. They be heere in England, and ſhall remaine till your next meeting, and abide triall,

triall, to prooue themſelues either honeſt men or knaues.

For the third point, of Naturalization, Thirdly. All you agree that they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee naturall. What kind of prerogatiue vvill you make? But for the *Poſt nati*, your owne Lawyers and Iudges at my firſt comming to this Crowne, informed me, there was a difference betweene the *Antè* and the *Poſt nati* of each Kingdome, which cauſed me to publiſh a Proclamation, that the *Poſt nati* were Naturalized (*Ipſo facto*) by my Acceſsion to this Crowne. I doe not denie but Iudges may erre as men, and therefore I doe not preſſe you here to ſweare to all their reaſons. I onely vrge at this time the conueniencie for both Kingdomes, neither preſsing you to iudge nor to bee iudged. But remember alſo it is as poſsible and likely your owne Lawyers may erre as the Iudges. Therefore as I wiſh you to proceede herein ſo farre as may tend to the weale of both Nations: So would I haue

you on the other part to beware to disgrace either my Proclamations or the Iudges, who when the Parliament is done, haue power to trie your lands and liues, for so you may disgrace both your King and your Lawes. For the doing of any act that may procure lesse reuerence to the Iudges, cannot but breede a loosenesse in the Gouernment, and a disgrace to the whole Nation. The reason that most mooues mee for ought I haue yet heard, that there cannot but bee a difference betweene the *Antè nati* and the *Post nati*, and that in the fauour of the last, is that they must bee neerer vnto you being borne vnder the present Gouernment and common Alleageance: but in point of conueniencie, there is no question but the *Post nati* are more to bee respected, For if you would haue a perfect and perpetuall Vnion, that cannot bee in the *Antè nati*, who are but few in comparison of those that shall be in all Ages succeeding, and cannot liue long. But in the *Post nati* shall the Vnion be con-

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tinued and liue euer age after age, which wanting a difference cannot but leaue a perpetual marke of ſeparation in the worke of the Vnion: as alſo that argument of iealouſie will be ſo farre remooued in the caſe of the *Poſt nati* which are to reape the benefit in all ſucceeding Ages, as by the contrarie there will then riſe *Pharaos* which neuer knew *Ioſeph*, The Kings my Succeſſours, who being borne and bred here, can neuer haue more occaſion of acquaintance with the Scottiſh nation in generall, then any other Engliſh King that was before my time. Be not therefore abuſed with the flattering ſpeeches of ſuch as would haue the *Antè nati* preferred, alleadging their merit in my Seruice, and ſuch other reaſons which indeed are but Sophiſmes. For, my rewarding out of my Liberalitie of any particular men, hath nothing adoe with the generall acte of the Vnion, which muſt not regard the deſerts of priuate perſons, but the generall weale and conioyning of the Nations. Beſides that, the

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actuall Naturalizing, which is the onely point that is in your handes, is already granted to by your ſelues to the moſt part of ſuch particular perſons as can haue any vſe of it heere: and if any other well deſeruing men were to ſue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would neuer be queſtion mooued among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is moſt euident, that ſuch diſcourſers haue *mel in ore, fel in corde*, as I ſaid before; carying an outward appearance of loue to the Vnion, but indeed a contrary reſolution in their hearts. And as for limitations and reſtrictions, ſuch as ſhall by me be agreed vpon to be reaſonable and neceſſarie after you haue fully debated vpon them, you may aſſure your ſelues I will with indifferencie grant what is requiſite without partiall reſpect of Scotland. I am, as I haue often ſaid, borne and ſworne king ouer both Kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the point at your next meeting, That ye be as ready to reſolue

solue doubts as to moue them, and to be satisfied when doubts are cleered.

And as for Commodities that come by the Vnion of these Kingdomes, they are great and euident; Peace, Plentie, Loue, free Intercourse and common Societie of two great Nations. All foreigne Kings that haue sent their Ambassadours to congratulate with me since my comming, haue saluted me as Monarch of the whole Isle, and with much more respect of my greatnesse, then if I were King alone of one of these Realmes: and with what comfort doe your selues behold Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English, diuers in Nation, yet all walking as Subiects and seruants within my Court, and all liuing vnder the allegeance of your King, besides the honour and lustre that the encrease of gallant men in the Court of diuers Nations caries in the eyes of all strangers that repaire hither? Those confining places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much blood was Third.

shed, and many of your ancestours lost their liues; yea, that lay waste and desolate, and were habitations but for runnagates, are now become the Nauell or Vmbilicke of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with ciuilitie and riches: their Churches begin to be planted, their doores stand now open, they feare neither robbing nor spoiling: and where there was nothing before heard nor seene in those parts but bloodshed, oppressions, complaints and outcries, they now liue euery man peaceably vnder his owne figgetree, and all their former cryes and complaints turned onely into prayers to God for their King, vnder whome they enioy such ease and happie quietnesse. The Marches beyond and on this side Twede, are as fruitfull and as peaceable as most parts of England: If after all this there shall be a Scissure, what inconuenience will follow, iudge you.

And as for the inconueniences that are feared on Englands part, It is alleadged,

 that

that the Scots are a populous Nation, they ſhall be harboured in our neſts, they ſhall be planted and flouriſh in our good Soile, they ſhall eate our commons bare, and make vs leane: These are fooliſh and idle ſurmiſes. That which you poſſeſſe, they are not to enioy; by Law they cannot, nor by my partialitie they ſhall not: for ſet apart conſcience and honour, (which if I ſhould ſet apart indeed, I had rather wiſh my ſelfe to be ſet apart and out of all being) can any man conclude either out of common reaſon or good policie, that I will preferre thoſe which perhaps I ſhall neuer ſee, or but by poſte for a moneth, before thoſe with whome I muſt alwayes dwell? Can they conquer or ouercome you with ſwarmes of people, as the Goths and the Vandals did *Italy*? Surely the world knowes they are nothing ſo populous as you are: and although they haue had the honour and good fortune neuer to be conquered, yet were they euer but vpon the defenſiue part, and may in a part thanke

their hilles and inaccesible passages that preserued them from an vtter ouerthrow at the hands of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they so very poore and miserable in their owne habitations, that necessitie should force them all to make incursions among you?

And for my part, when I haue two Nations vnder my gouernment, can you imagine I wil respect the lesser, and neglect the greater? would I not thinke it a lesse euill and hazard to me that the plague were at Northampton or Barwicke, then at London, so neere Westminster, the Seat of my habitation, and of my wife and children? will not a man be more carefull to quench the fire taken in his neereſt neighbours house, then if a whole Towne were a fire farre from him? You know that I am careful to preserue the woods & game through all England, nay, through all the Isle: yet none of you doubts, but that I would bee more offended with any disorder in the Forrest of Waltham, for stealing of a

Stagge there, which lieth as it were vnder my nose, and in a maner ioyneth with my garden, then with cutting of timber, or stealing of a Deare in any Forrest of the North parts of Yorkeshire or the Bishoppricke. Thinke you that I will preferre them that be absent, lesse powerfull, and farther off to doe me good or hurt, before you, with whome my securitie and liuing must be, and where I desire to plant my posteritie? If I might by any such fauours raise my selfe to a greatnesse, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to lose a whole state here to please a few there, were madnesse. I need speake no more of this with protestations. Speake but of wit, it is not likely: and to doubt of my intention in this, were more then deuilish.

For mine owne part, I offer more then I receiue, and conueniencie I preferre before law, in this poynt. For, three parts, wherein I might hurt this Nation, by partialitie to the Scots, you know do absolutely lie in my hands and power: for either in disposi-

tion of rents, or whatsoeuer benefit, or in the preferring of them to any dignitie or office, ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, or in calling them to the Parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the compasse of my Prerogatiue, which are the parts wherein the Scottish men can receiue either benefite or preferrement by the Vnion, and wherein for the care I haue of this people, I am content to binde my selfe with some reasonable restrictions.

As for the fourth part, the naturalizing, which onely lieth in your hands; It is the poynt wherein they receiue least benefit of any: for in that they can obteine nothing, but what they buy by their purse, or acquire by the selfe same meanes that you do. And as for the point of naturalizing, which is the poynt thought so fit, and so precisely belonging to Parliament: not to speake of the Common lawe, wherein as yet I can professe no great knowledge, but in the Ciuill law wherein I am a litle better versed, and which in the point of Coniunction of

Nations ſhould beare a great ſway, it being the Law of Nations: I will mainteine two principles in it, which no learned and graue Ciuilian wil deny, as being clearly to be proued, both out of the text it ſelfe in many places, and alſo out of the beſt approued Doctours and interpreters of that law, The one, that it is a ſpeciall poynt of the Kings owne Prerogatiue, to make Aliens Citizens, and *donare Ciuitate*, The other, that in any caſe wherein the Law is thought not to be cleare (as ſome of your ſelues do doubt, that in this caſe of the *poſt nati*, the Law of England doth not clearely determine) then in ſuch a queſtion wherein no poſitiue Law is reſolute, *Rex eſt Iudex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to ſupply the law, where the law wants, and if many famous hiſtories be to be beleeued, they giue the example for mainteining of this law in the perſons of the Kings of England and France eſpecially, whoſe ſpeciall Prerogatiue they alleadge it to be. But this I ſpeake onely as knowing what belongeth

to

to a King, although in this case I presse no further then that which may agree with your loues, and stand with the weale and conuenience of both Nations.

And whereas some may thinke this Vnion will bring preiudice to some Townes and Corporations within England: It may be, a Merchant or two of Bristow, or Yarmouth, may haue an hundred pounds lesse in his packe. But if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no matter: You see one Corporation is euer against another, and no priuate Companie can be set vp, but with some losse to another.

Fourth. For the supposed inconueniences rising from Scotland, they are three. First, that there is an euill affection in the Scottish Nation to the Vnion. Next, the Vnion is incompatible betweene two such Nations. Thirdly, that the gaine is small or none. If this be so, to what end doe we talke of an Vnion? For proofe of the first point, there is alledged an auersenesse in the Scottish Nation expressed in the Instrument,

both

both in the preface and body of their Act; In the preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an absolute and free Monarchie; And in the body of the Acte, where they make an exception of the ancient fundamentall Lawes of that kingdome. And first for the generall of their auerseneſſe, All the maine current in your Lower-houſe ranne this whole Seſsion of Parliament with that opinion, That Scotland was ſo greedy of this Vnion, and apprehended that they ſhould receiue ſo much benefit by it, as they cared not for the ſtrictneſſe of any conditions, ſo they might attaine to the ſubſtance: And yet you now ſay, they are backwards and auerſe from the Vnion. This is a direct contradiction *in adiecto*: For, how can they both bee beggers and backwards, in one and the ſelfe ſame thing, at the ſame time?

But for anſwere to the particulars, It is an old Schoole point, *Eius eſt explicare, cuius eſt condere*. You cannot interpret their Lawes, nor they yours; I that made

them with their aſſent, can beſt expound them.

And firſt I confeſſe, that the Engliſh Parliaments are ſo long, and the Scottiſh ſo ſhort, that a meane betweene them would do well: For the ſhortneſſe of their continuing together, was the cauſe of their haſtie miſtaking, by ſetting theſe wordes of exception of fundamentall Lawes in the body of the Acte, which they onely did in preſsing to imitate word by word the Engliſh Inſtrument, wherein the ſame words be conteined in your Preface. And as to their meaning and interpretation of that word, I will not onely deliuer it vnto you out of mine owne conceipt, but as it was deliuered vnto mee by the beſt Lawyers of Scotland, both Counſellours and other Lawyers, who were at the making thereof in Scotland, and were Commiſsioners here for performance of the ſame.

Their meaning in the word of Fundamentall Lawes, you ſhall perceiue more fully hereafter, when I handle the obiecti-

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on of the difference of Lawes: For they intend thereby onely those Lawes whereby confusion is auoyded, and their Kings descent maintained, and the heritage of the succession and Monarchie, which hath bene a kingdome, to which I am in descent, 300. yeeres before CHRIST: Not meaning it, as you doe, of their Common Law, for they haue none, but that which is called *Ius Regis*: and their desire of continuing a free Monarchie, was onely meant, That al such particular Priuiledges (whereof I spake before) should not bee so confounded, as for want either of Magistrate, Law, or order, they might fall in such a confusion, as to become like a naked Prouince, without Law or libertie vnder this kingdome. I hope you meane not I should set Garrisons ouer them, as the Spaniards doe ouer Sicily and Naples, or gouerne them by Commissioners, which are seldome found succeedingly all wise and honest men.

This I must say for Scotland, and I may truely

truely vaunt it; Here I sit and gouerne it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I gouerne Scotland now, which others could not doe by the sword. And for their auersenesse in their heart against the Vnion, It is true indeede, I protest they did neuer craue this Vnion of mee, nor sought it either in priuate, or the State by letters, nor euer once did any of that Nation presse me forward or wish me to accelerate that businesse. But on the other part, they offered alwayes to obey mee when it should come to them, and all honest men that desire my greatnesse haue beene thus minded, for the personall reuerence and regard they beare vnto my Person, and any of my reasonable and iust desires.

I know there are many *Piggots* amongst them, I meane a number of seditious and discontented particular persons, as must be in all Common-wealths, that where they dare, may peraduenture talke lewdly enough: but no Scottish man euer spake dis-

honourably of England in Parliament. For here must I note vnto you the difference of the two Parliaments in these two Kingdomes; for there they must not speake without the Chauncellors leaue, and if any man doe propound or vtter any seditious or vncomely speeches, he is straight interrupted and silenced by the Chauncellors authoritie: where as here, the libertie for any man to speake what hee list, and as long as he list, was the onely cause hee was not interrupted.

It hath bin obiected, that there is a great Antipathy of the Lawes and Customes of these two Nations. It is much mistaken: for Scotland hath no Common Law as here, but the Law they haue is of three sorts.

All the Lawe of Scotland for Tenures, Wards and Liueries, Seigniories & Lands, are drawen out of the Chaunceric of England, and for matters of equitie and in many things else, differs from you but in certaine termes. *Iames* the first, bred here in England, brought the Lawes thither in a

written hand. The ſecond is Statute lawes, which be their Acts of Parliament, wherein they haue power as you, to make and alter Lawes: and thoſe may be looked into by you, for I hope you ſhall bee no more ſtrangers to that Nation. And the principall worke of this Vnion will be, to reconcile the Statute Lawes of both Kingdomes. The third is the Ciuill Law. *Iames* the fift brought it out of France by eſtabliſhing the Seſsion there, according to the forme of the Court of Parliament of Fraunce, which he had ſeene in the time of his being there: who occupie there the place of Ciuil Iudges in all matters of Plee or controuerſie, yet not to gouerne abſolutely by the Ciuill Law as in France. For if a man plead that the Law of the Nation is otherwiſe, it is a barre to the Ciuill, and a good Chauncellor or Preſident, will oftentimes repell and put to ſilence an Argument that the Lawyers brings out of the Ciuill Lawe, where they haue a cleare ſolution in their owne Lawe. So as the Ciuill Law in Scot-

land is admitted in no other caſes, but to ſupply ſuch caſes wherein the Municipall Law is defectiue. Then may you ſee it is not ſo hard a matter as is thought, to reduce that Countrey to bee vnited with you vnder this Law, which neither are ſubiect to the Ciuill Lawe, nor yet haue any olde Common Law of their owne, but ſuch as in effect is borrowed from yours. And for their Statute Lawes in Parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as occaſion ſhall require, as you doe here. It hath likewiſe beene obiected as an other impediment, that in the Parliament of Scotland the King hath not a negatiue voice, but muſt paſſe all the Lawes agreed on by the Lords and Commons. Of this I can beſt reſolue you: for I am the eldeſt Parliament man in Scotland, and haue ſit in more Parliaments then any of my Predeceſſors. I can aſſure you, that the forme of Parliament there, is nothing inclined to popularitie. About a twentie dayes or ſuch a time before the Parliament, Proclamation is

made

made throughout the Kingdome, to deliuer in to the Kings Clearke of Regiſter (whome you heere call the Maſter of the Rolles) all Bils to bee exhibited that Seſsion before a certaine day. Then are they brought vnto the King, and peruſed and conſidered by him, and onely ſuch as I allow of are put into the Chancellors hands to bee propounded to the Parliament, and none others; And if any man in Parliament ſpeake of any other matter then is in this forme firſt allowed by me, The Chancellor tells him there is no ſuch Bill allowed by the King.

Beſides, when they haue paſſed them for Lawes, they are preſented vnto mee, and I with my Scepter put into my hand by the Chancellor, muſt ſay, *I ratifie, and approoue all things done in this preſent Parliament.* And if there bee any thing that I diſlike, they raſe it out before. If this may bee called a negatiue voyce, then I haue one I am ſure in that Parliament.

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The laſt impediment is the French liberties: which is thought ſo great, as except the Scots forſake Fraunce, England cannot bee vnited to them. If the Scottiſh Nation would bee ſo vnwilling to leaue them as is ſaid, it would not lye in their hands. For the League was neuer made betweene the people, as is miſtaken, but betwixt the PRINCES onely and their Crownes. The beginning was by a Meſſage from a King of Fraunce, *Charlemaine* I take it (but I cannot certainely remember) vnto a King of Scotland, for a League defenſiue and offenſiue betweene vs and them againſt England, Fraunce being at that time in Warres with England.

The like at that time was then deſired by England againſt Fraunce, who alſo ſent their Ambaſſadours to Scotland. At the firſt, the Diſputation was long maintained in fauour of England, that they being our neereſt Neighbours ioyned in one continent, and a ſtrong and powerfull Na-

tion, it was more fitte for the weale and ſecuritie of the State of Scotland, to bee in League and Amitie with them, then with a Countrey, though neuer ſo ſtrong, yet diuided by Sea from vs: eſpecially England lying betwixt vs and them, where we might bee ſure of a ſuddaine miſchiefe, but behooued to abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other accidents that might hinder our reliefe.

But after, when the contrarie part of the Argument was maintained: wherein allegation was made, that England euer ſought to conquer Scotland, and therefore in regarde of their pretended intereſt in the Kingdome, would neuer keepe any ſound Amitie with them longer, then they ſaw their aduantage; whereas France lying more remote and clayming no intereſt in the Kingdome, would therefore bee found a more conſtant and faithfull friend: It was vnhappily concluded in fauour of the laſt partie; through which occaſion Scotland gate many miſchiefes

after.

after. And it is by the very tenour thereof ordered, to be renewed and confirmed from King to King ſucceſsiuely, which accordingly was euer performed by the mediation of their Ambaſſadours, and therefore meerely perſonall, and ſo was it renewed in the QVEENE my mothers time, onely betweene the two Kings, and not by aſſent of Parliament or conuention of the three Eſtates, which it could neuer haue wanted if it had beene a League betweene the people. And in my time when it came to bee ratified, becauſe it appeared to bee in *odium tertij*, it was by me left vnrenewed or confirmed as a thing incompatible to my Perſon, in conſideration of my Title to this Crowne. Some Priuiledges indeede in the Merchants fauour for point of Commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my time: wherein for my part of it, there was ſcarce three Counſellours more then my Secretarie, to whoſe place it belonged, that medled in that matter.

It is true, that it behooued to be enterined, as they call it, in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*: but that onely ſerues for publication, and not to giue it Authoritie: That Parliament (as you know) being but a Iudiciall Seate of Iudges and Lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the definition or office of our Parliaments in this Iſle. And therefore that any fruites or Priuiledges poſſeſſed by the League with Fraunce is able now to remaine in Scotland, is impoſsible. For yee may be ſure, that the French King ſtayes onely vpon the ſight of the ending of this Vnion, to cut it off himſelfe. Otherwiſe when this great worke were at an end, I would be forced for the generall care I owe to all my Subiects, to craue of France like Priuiledges to them all as Scotland alreadie enioyes, ſeeing the perſonall friendſhip remaines as great betweene vs as between our Progenitors; and all my Subiects muſt be alike deare vnto mee: which either he will neuer grant, and ſo all will fall to the

ground;

ground; or elſe it will turne to the benefite of the whole Iſland: and ſo the Scottiſh Priuiledges cannot hold longer then my League with France laſteth.

And for another Argument to prooue that this league is only betwene the Kings, and not between the people: They which haue Penſions, or are priuie Intelligence giuers in France without my leaue, are in no better caſe by the Law of Scotland, then if they were Penſioners to Spaine.

As for the Scottiſh Guard in France, the beginning thereof was, when an Earle of *Boghan* was ſent in aide of the French with tenne thouſand men, and there being made Conſtable, and hauing obtained a victorie, was murthered with the moſt of the Scottiſh Armie. In recompenſe whereof, and for a future ſecuritie to the Scottiſh Nation, the Scottiſh Guard was ordeined to haue the priuiledge and prerogatiue before all other Guards in guarding the Kings perſon.

And as for the laſt point of this ſub-

diuision concerning the gaine that England may make by this Vnion, I thinke no wise nor honest man will aske any such question. For who is so ignorant, that doeth not know the gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the Vnion of Wales? And is not Scotland greater then Wales? Shall not your Dominions bee encreased of Landes, Seas, and persons added to your greatnesse? And are not your Landes and Seas adioyning? For who can set downe the limits of the Borders, but as a Mathematicall line or *Idea*? Then will that backe doore bee shut, and those portes of *Ianus* bee for euer closed: you shall haue them that were your enemies to molest you, a sure backe to defend you: their bodies shall be your aides, and they must be partners in all your quarels: Two snow-balls put together, make one the greater: Two houses ioyned, make one the larger: two Castle walles made in one, makes one as thicke and strong as both. And doe you

not

not see in the Low countreys how auaileable the English and the Scottish are being ioyned together? This is a point so plaine, as no man that hath wit or honestie, but must acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is obiected that the Scottishmen are not tyed to the seruice of the King in the warres aboue forty dayes; It is an ignorant mistaking. For the trueth is, That in respect the Kings of Scotland did not so abound in Treasure and money to take vp an Armie vnder pay, as the Kings of England did; Therefore was the Scottish Army wont to bee raysed onely by Proclamation, vpon the penaltie of their breach of alleageance; So as they were all forced to come to the Warre like Snailes who carry their house about with them; Euery Nobleman and Gentleman bringing with him their Tents, money, prouision for their house, victuals of all sorts, and all other necessaries, the King supplying them of nothing: Necessitie thereupon enforcing a warning to be giuen by

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the Proclamation of the ſpace of their attendance, without which they could not make their prouiſion accordingly; eſpecially as long as they were within the bounds of Scotland, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themſelues by the ſpoile or waſting of the Countrey. But neither is there any Law preſcribing preciſely ſuch a certaine number of dayes, nor yet is it without the limits of the Kings power to keepe them togeather, as many more dayes as hee liſt, to renew his Proclamations from time to time ſome reaſonable number of dayes, before the expiring of the former, they being euer bound to ſerue and waite vpon him, though it vvere an hundreth yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this occaſion, that I might *Liberare animam meam*; You are nowe to recede: vvhen you meete againe, remember I pray you, the trueth and ſincerity of my meaning, which in ſeeking Vnion, is onely to aduance the greatneſſe of your Empire ſea-

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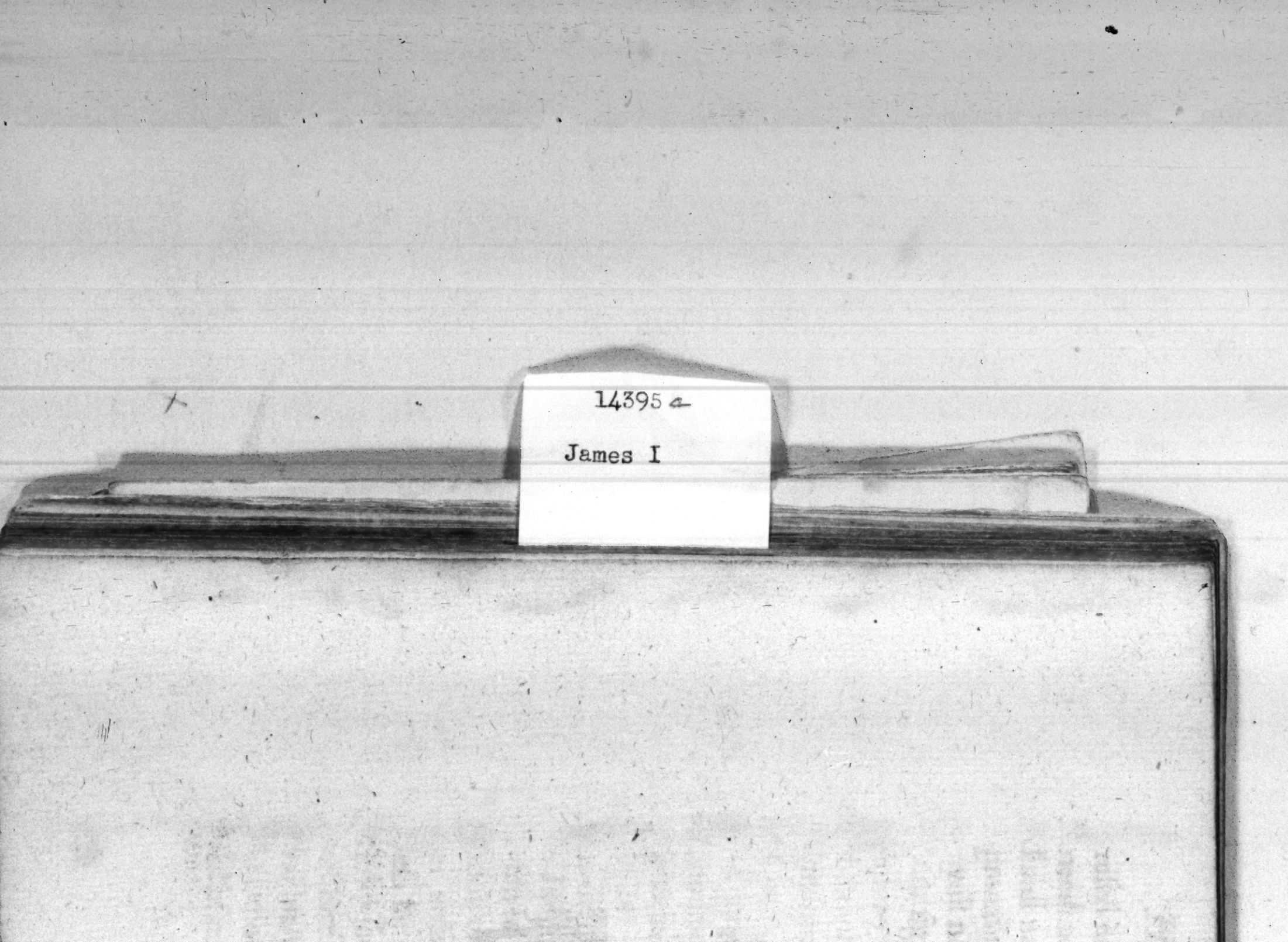
ted here in England; And yet with such caution I wish it, as may stand with the weale of both States. What is now desired, hath oft before bene sought, when it could not bee obteined: To refuse it now then, were double iniquitie. Strengthen your owne felicitie, LONDON must be the Seate of your King, and Scotland ioyned to this kingdome by a Golden conquest, but cymented with loue, (as I said before) which within will make you strong against all Ciuill and intestine Rebellion, as vvithout vve vvill bee compassed and guarded vvith our walles of brasse. Iudge mee charitably, since in this I seeke your equall good, that so both of you might be made fearefull to your Enemies, powerfull in your selues, and auaileable to your friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good Conclusion, auoyd all delayes, cut off all vaine questions, that your King may haue his lawfull desire, and be not disgraced in his iust endes. And for your securitie in such reasonable points of

restrictions, whereunto I am to agree, ye need neuer doubt of my inclination: For I will not say any thing which I will not promise, nor promise any thing which I will not sweare; What I sweare I will signe, and what I signe, I shall with GOD's grace euer performe.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